

LA SALLE
AMONG THE
SENECAS.

GUACANAGARI	PONTIAC	BLACK HAWK
MONTEZUMA	CAPTAIN PIPE	KEOKUK
GUATIMOTZIN	LOGAN	SACAGAWEA
POWHATAN	CORNPLANTER	BENITO JUAREZ
POCAHONTAS	JOSEPH BRANT	MANGUS
SAMOSET	RED JACKET	COLORADAS
MASSASOIT	LITTLE TURTLE	LITTLE CROW
KING PHILIP	TECUMSEH	SITTING BULL
UNCAS	OSCEOLA	CHIEF JOSEPH
TEDYUSKUNG	SEQUOYA	GERONIMO
	SHABONEE	



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AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE
PEOPLE REPRESENTED BY THE
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THE
FIRST VISIT
OF
DE LA SALLE
TO THE
SENECAS,
MADE IN
1669.

READ BEFORE THE
BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY.
MARCH 16, 1874,
BY ORSAMUS H. MARSHALL.

PRIVATELY PRINTED. *c Buffalo; 1874.*

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IN the City of Rouen, the ancient Capital of Normandy, almost under the shadow of its renowned Cathedral, was born, on the 22d day of November 1643, Robert Cavelier de La Salle.

Descended from an honorable parentage, he received, under the care of the Jesuits, all the advantages of a liberal education, and for a brief period was enrolled as a member of their Order.

When he left them on the death of his Father, it was without fortune, for by his connection with their Society, he had forfeited all claim to the parental heritage.

With no resources save his indomitable energy and scientific accomplishments, and no apparent inducements except the love of adventure and a desire to visit an elder brother then resident in Canada, he embarked for the New World in 1666, where he founded near Montreal, the village of "La Chine."

Increased attention has within the last few years, been directed to his researches and explorations on this Continent.

The recent discovery of various manuscripts relating to his explorations along our Northern Lakes and Western Rivers as far as the Gulf of Mexico, has awakened a fresh interest in this subject. A large mass of new material is now in the possession of Mr. Pierre Margry, of Paris, for the publication of which \$10,000 has recently been appropriated by an Act of our Con-

gress, procured by the joint efforts of some of the most eminent of our American Historians, aided by our own and other Historical Societies.

While on a recent visit to Paris, I was enabled, through the courtesy of Mr. Margry, to examine his rare collections, and can testify to their value and importance.

The proposed publication will embrace several volumes of original material.

Three will be devoted to the discoveries and explorations of La Salle, and one to each of the following subjects :

The Pioneers of the Mississippi.

Le Moyne D'Iberville, First Royal Governor of Louisiana.

Le Moyne de Bienville, Second Royal Governor of Louisiana.

Antoine de la Mothe Cadillac, Third Royal Governor of Louisiana.

The Chain of Western Posts, and

The Indians. Making in all ten volumes.

They will be issued under a contract, which has been concluded between Mr. Margry and the Joint Library Committee of Congress. The first volume is nearly ready for the press, and will be looked for with much interest by students of American history.

Mr. Margry has been engaged, for many years, in collecting the material for this publication, his official connection with the Department of the *Ministère de la Marine*, in Paris, having afforded him special facilities for the undertaking.

Among his collections, I found an unpublished manuscript journal, copied from the original in the Biblio-

theque Nationale, in Paris, giving an account of an expedition undertaken by La Salle and two Sulpician Missionaries into the country of the Senecas, more than 200 years ago.

As one of the special objects of this Society is the discovery and preservation of historical material relating to the settlement of Western New York, whether confined to the pioneer enterprises of the whites, or embracing their first intercourse and transactions with the Indians, I willingly accepted the friendly offer of Mr. Margry, to furnish the extract from the journal in question, a translation of which I beg leave to introduce to your attention this evening, as the basis of my present paper.

Aside from its intrinsic interest, it seemed to be of sufficient historical importance to entitle it to a place among our archives.

It describes the first visit of La Salle to Western New York, made in 1669, before he had acquired the renown which his subsequent adventures and explorations affixed to his name. The people he visited were our early neighbors. They met him in council, spoke the same peculiar language we have so often heard in our streets, and exhibited many of the customs and manners which even now prevail among their descendants.

The map annexed to the journal, forms an interesting illustration of the knowledge acquired by the party, of the form and size of the North American Lakes during their long pioneer voyage from Montreal to the Sault Ste Marie. The copy which I obtained is a *fac simile* of the original, and measures $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet in length, by $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet in breadth. It is covered with the annotations of

Galinee, mostly inverted, so as to be read only from the north side, owing to his stand point being, when he drew it, on the Canadian side of the Great Lakes, looking towards the south. It has never yet been published, but will undoubtedly be reproduced among Mr. Margry's papers.

The missionaries attached to the expedition, were Francois Dollier de Casson, and Rene de Brehart de Galinee, both attached to the Order of St. Sulpice. The former had been a cavalry officer under Marshal Turenne. At the date of this expedition, he was about 40 years old, and Superior of the Seminary belonging to his Order at Montreal. He was a man of commanding presence and tried courage, of which he had given proofs in the campaign of Governor Courcelles against the Mohawks in 1666.

His strength was so prodigious, that he was said to be able to carry two men, sitting, one in each hand.

Galinee, the historian of the enterprise, was skilled in the Algonkin tongue, and had no little reputation as a surveyor and astronomer. He could construct a chart of his travels through the wilderness, so as to be able to retrace his way.

Both priests were ardent and zealous for the conversion of the North American Indians to the Roman faith, and had long been waiting for some favorable opportunity, to penetrate, for that purpose, the vast and as yet unexplored regions of the west.

De La Salle, then 36 years old, had resided in Canada about three years, and the opportunities he had enjoyed for intercourse with the Iroquois and other western tribes, who were accustomed to visit Montreal for the

purposes of trade, had not been neglected. From them he had heard of the Ohio, the Mississippi,* and of the boundless forests and prairies through which they flowed, teeming with game and the fur bearing animals. They had told him of the vast lakes, as yet unnavigated save by their frail canoes, on the borders of which were inexhaustible mines, yielding the richest ores of iron and copper.

His imagination kindled at the recital, and so great was his ambition to accomplish his favorite object, that he sold the possessions he had acquired in Canada, to realize the means for defraying the expenses of an expedition to test the truth of the Indian narrations.

Encouraged by the patronage of Coureelles the Governor, and Talon the Intendant of Canada, who were lavish of all except pecuniary aid, he resolved to ascend the St. Lawrence, and passing through the chain of Western Lakes, to seek for the great river, that, having its source in the Iroquois country, flowed, according to Indian authority, into a far distant sea, and which Champlain and L'Escarbot had confidently hoped might be the westerly road to China and Japan.

In the summer of 1669, La Salle organized, with the two Sulpicians, a joint expedition to accomplish their several purposes—the former to prosecute his discoveries in the west, and the missionaries to baptize into the Roman faith, the neophytes they should secure among the sedentary and nomad tribes found in the valleys of the Ohio, the Mississippi and the Lakes.

When every thing was ready for a speedy departure,

*The Mississippi was alluded to *by name* in the Jesuit relations as early as 1670. Its outlet was then supposed to be in the "Florida Sea."

Relation 1670-1, pp. 93, 144 and 175.

the unfortunate assassination of an Iroquois chief by three French soldiers at Montreal, detained them fifteen days, and threatened a renewal of the war which had just then, happily terminated. The execution of the guilty soldiers expiated their crime, and propitiated the offended Iroquois. All fear of reprisals being allayed, the party left La Chine* on the 6th day of July—La Salle with 15 men in four canoes, and De Casson and Galinee, with seven men in three canoes, escorted by two other canoes containing a party of Senecas who had been the guests of La Salle in Montreal, during the preceding winter. They ascended the St. Lawrence, threading the intricate channels formed by the Thousand islands, carrying their canoes and effects around the numerous and difficult portages they met on the way, and at length, after 27 days of incessant toil, in which they suffered severely from disease and exposure, they reached the broad expanse of Lake Ontario. Coasting along its southern shore, they landed on the 10th day of August, at the mouth of Irondequoit Bay, four miles east of the Genesee river. This bay was, in early times, the principal route by which the Senecas were ac-

*So called, perhaps in derision, from its being their supposed starting point for China. Paul Le Jeune, Superior of the Jesuit missions in Canada, in a letter from Quebec dated Sept 10th, 1640, gives a curious account of an attempt on the part of an Englishman, accompanied by a single servant and a party of Abenaki Indians, to cross the American Continent in search of a northwest passage to the sea. He arrived at Quebec on the 24th day of June 1640. The Governor compelled him to return to England. Relation 1639-40, p. 135.

It was the favorite belief of the early travelers in America, that an overland route to China was practicable. 1. Le Clercq Etablissement de la Foi, p. 195.

Father Vimont says that the Jesuit "Raymbault, designed to go to China across the American wilderness, but God sent him on the road to heaven." He died at the Saut de Ste. Marie, in 1641. Relation 1642-3, p. 271.

customed to pass between their villages and the lake. There was a portage from the head of the bay, across to the Genesee river, striking the latter above the falls at Rochester, which afforded a much shorter and more convenient route to the upper waters of the Genesee, and to the sources of the Ohio, than by ascending the channel through its mouth.

The bay is first noticed on the map annexed to the Jesuit Relation published in 1666, and is frequently alluded to in subsequent narratives of early western exploration. A fort was built by the French on the sandy bar^x at its mouth, soon after the commencement of the last century, and appropriately called "Fort des Sables." It does not appear to have been permanently garrisoned, its site being, for a long time, debatable ground between the French and the English. The latter obtained a deed from the Senecas in 1741, of a parallelogram bounding on the lake, embracing within its limits the whole of the bay, and extending inland to the depth of thirty miles. Denouville landed in the bay, and constructed on its shore a defensive work for the protection of his boats, when on his celebrated expedition against the Senecas in 1687.*

At the date of La Salle's visit, the whole of the present State of New York, was a dense and unbroken wilderness, its soil untilled by the white man, and its forest recesses unexplored, save by the Jesuits in their

*The Seneca name of this bay, corrupted by the English into "Irondequoit" and "Gerundegut," furnishes an interesting illustration of the Indian custom of bestowing significant names upon prominent localities. They call it "O nyiu-da-on-da-gwat," the word being compounded of "Ga-nyiu-da-eh," lake, and "O-da-gwah," it turns aside. Literally, "the lake turns aside," or forms a bay, an etymological compound, analogous to the English term "In-let."

x Not so. The fort was on the high land.

missionary enterprises, and the French and Dutch, from Montreal and Fort Orange, in their prosecution of the fur trade. The Iroquois tribes were of a sedentary character, and the alluvial bottoms within the neighborhood and protection of their villages, yielded to their rude cultivation, rich returns of maize, beans, squashes and melons, furnishing ample food for their subsistence.*

Their villages, four in number, were all east of the Genesee River. The largest, called *Ga-o-sa-eh-ga-aah*, occupied what has since been known as Boughton Hill, in Ontario County, just south of Victor Station, on the Central Railroad, and midway between Rochester and Canandaigua. The second in importance, *De-yu-di-haak-doh*, was in a large bend of the Honeoye outlet, in Livingston County, about ten miles south of Rochester. The third, *Chi-nos-hah-geh*, was nearly four miles southeast of Victor, and the fourth, *De-o-don-sot*, five miles southeast of Avon Springs, at the source of the little Conesus Creek. These four villages formed, as it were, the angles of a nearly right angled parallelogram, the two nearest Lake Ontario being about 18 miles southerly therefrom. The corresponding Mohawk names of these four villages, as written by Denonville, were Gannagaro, Totiakto, Gannogarae and Gannounata.†

*The Swedish naturalist Kalm, who travelled extensively in North America in 1748-9, says, that "maize, kidney beans, pumpions, squashes, gourds, watermelons and muskmelons were cultivated by the Indians long before the arrival of Europeans." Kalm's Travels, Vol. III., P. 295. Possibly the seeds of some of these fruits were introduced among the natives by the Jesuits, early in the 17th Century, and being found by subsequent travellers, were supposed by them to be indigenous.

†See an account of the location of these villages and of their identification by the author, in the second volume of the N. Y. Historical Collections, second series, p. 158.

The earliest recorded visit made to these villages by the white man, was that of Father Chaumonot, in the latter part of 1656, thirteen years before the expedition of La Salle.*

It did not result in any permanent mission among the Senecas, as he remained but a short time in their country. The wars then raging between the Iroquois and their savage neighbors, were wholly incompatible with missionary enterprises.

It was not until the year 1667, that the Jesuits made permanent arrangements for the culture of this new and remote field. In July of that year, Fathers Fremin, Pierron and Bruyas, left Quebec for the Iroquois country. They were detained on their way for more than a month at Fort St. Anne, on the outlet of Lake Champlain, through fear of the Mohegans, then on a raid against the Mohawks. Their alarm having subsided, they left the fort on the 23d of August, and arrived at "Can-da-oua ge," a Mohawk village which had witnessed the labors and death of the Jesuit martyr Jogues, twenty-one years before. Here Fremin and Pierron now established themselves in their missionary work. Father Bruyas passed on to Oneida, where he arrived in September, and was soon after joined by Garnier.

But another field farther west was calling for laborers, and Garnier, in obedience to the summons, left for the

*Some American historians are of the opinion that Champlain, in his expedition against the Iroquois in 1615, laid seige to a Seneca village then situated on the west side of Canandaigua Lake. Doc. History of N. Y., Vol. III., p. 10. Champlain's works, Quebec edition, p. 528. It appears to the author, on a careful examination of Champlain's journal and map, that he came no further west than Onondaga Lake. See N. Y. Historical Proceedings, 1849, p. 96.

Central Canton of the Onondagas, where he was joined by two new recruits, Millet* and Carheil, in October of the following year.

Leaving Millet at Onondaga, Carheil proceeded westward to Cayuga, where he arrived in November, 1668, and remained in missionary work for several years, but was finally driven out through the influence of the haughty "O-re-oua-he," otherwise called "La Grand Guele." He spent sixty years of missionary life among the Indians, and died in Quebec in 1726.

Missions having thus been established in the four eastern Cantons of the Iroquois, the Senecas, the most populous and warlike of the confederacy, desirous of sharing in the same religious advantages, sent a deputation of their most influential chiefs to Montreal in November, 1668, asking the Jesuits to send missionaries to their villages.

The request was promptly granted, for when was such an appeal ever made to a Jesuit in vain. They selected Father Fremin, who had now spent a year among the Mohawks, for the new mission, and he was soon on his way to the country of the fierce and haughty Senecas, leaving Pierron to conduct, single handed, the former mission. He arrived at "Tsommontonan"† on the first day of November, 1668, in the midst of a raging epidemic, which was so destructive, that he was obliged to summon Father Garnier from Onondaga to his aid.

*Millet continued at Onondaga until 1671. He was then transferred to Oneida, where he remained until 1684, when he returned to Canada. He was taken prisoner near Fort Frontenac by the Oneidas in 1689, but his life was saved through his adoption by a squaw. He finally succeeded in obtaining his release, and returned to Quebec in 1694. Father Charlevoix saw him in 1722, and speaks of him in terms of the highest consideration.

†This was the general name of the Seneca country. See Appendix.

Fremin chose for his residence the village of Gan-don-ga-rae,* situated on the banks of a stream now known as Mud Creek, nearly four miles southeast of Victor, a site which until quite recently, bore many evidences of former Indian occupancy. He there founded the mission of St. Michael, in which he continued to labor until 1671.

Garnier located at the village called by the Mohawks Gan-da-chi-ra-gou, described on page 10 as *Ga-o-sa-eh-ga-aah* in Seneca, situated on what is now known as Boughton Hill,⁺ where he remained until 1683. Hennepin saw him there in 1679, at the time negotiations were instituted with the Senecas in behalf of La Salle, for permission to build a fort or storehouse on the Niagara, and a vessel above the Falls.

These missions being thus fully established, Father Fremin, as Superior, called a general council of all the Jesuits laboring in them, to meet at Onondaga for consultation as to the best means for promoting their missionary work, or, in the language of Father Bruyas, "for advancing the salvation of souls, the glory of God "and the Iroquois Missions."

They assembled on the 29th day of August, 1669, in full council. Fremin left the Seneca Mission of St. Michael to attend the convocation on the tenth day of the same month, *the very day* that the expedition, under La Salle and the two Sulpicians, landed at Irondequoit Bay, as before stated, on their way to Gannagaro, or St. James, on Boughton Hill.†

The avowed object of La Salle and his companions, in

*See page 10 where it is called Gannogarae.

†Jesuit Relation 1670, p. 75, Canada Edition.

8. *Relation de la Mission de St. Michael* 1671.

visiting the Senecas, was to obtain a guide competent to conduct them through the unknown wilderness that lay between their villages and the sources of the Ohio. The unfortunate absence of Fremin and Garnier at the Onondaga Council during all the time of their visit, was undoubtedly the principal cause of the failure of the expedition, as they were the only individuals who had a knowledge of the Indian language, sufficient to enable them to interpret between the French and the Senecas. There is good reason for the belief that they were absent by design.^x La Salle had formerly been a member of their Order, but had resigned before he came to America, its rigid discipline and ascetic vows not harmonizing with his restless ambition and love of adventure.

Although he was engaged for twenty years in western explorations, frequently meeting the Jesuits in his travels and visiting them in their missions, there is not, in all the twenty volumes of their Relations published during that period, a single allusion to his name or to any of his discoveries. While the Griffin was building at the mouth of the Cayuga Creek, La Salle was traversing the Niagara and the borders of Lake Ontario, holding councils with the Senecas in the villages in which the Jesuits were established, yet they omitted to record in their writings, the slightest notice of his presence or reference to his enterprises. There can be no satisfactory explanation of all this, except the jealousy entertained by the Order, of one who had withdrawn from their communion, and boldly undertaken an independent part in the exploration and development of a country which they had appropriated as their own peculiar field of labor.

There also existed no little jealousy between the Jesuits and the Sulpicians, which undoubtedly had its influence in preventing the success of any enterprise in which the latter were engaged.

The time chosen by La Salle and his companions was deemed favorable for their visit to the Senecas, the French and Iroquois being now at peace, and the Jesuits established in fixed missions, in all the Cantons of the Five Nations, as before stated.

These preliminary remarks, embracing a few personal sketches of the leaders of the expedition, and characteristics of the Indians they encountered, some notices of the country into which they so boldly entered, and of the missions which had already been established, are deemed pertinent, as an introduction to the Journal of Galinee.

In the translation which follows, I have adhered as closely to the original as the obscure and antiquated French in which it is written would admit.

EXTRACT FROM THE JOURNAL OF GALINEE.

"After thirty-five days of very difficult navigation, we arrived at a small river called by the Indians "Karontagouat,"* which is the nearest point on the lake to "Son-noutouan," and about one hundred leagues southwest of Montreal. I took the latitude of this place on the 26th of August, 1669, with my Jacobstaff.† As I had a very fine horizon on the north, no land, but the open lake, being visible in that direction, I took the altitude on that side as being the least liable to error.

*The Mohawk name for Irondequoit Bay.

†A Jacobstaff was a rude graduated instrument with moveable indexes, used before the invention of the quadrant by Hadley.

I found the sun to be distant 33° from the zenith, to which I added $10^{\circ} 12'$ for its north declination on that day. The equinoctial was found to be distant from the zenith, and consequently the Arctic Pole elevated above the horizon at this place, $43^{\circ} 12'$, which is its true latitude, and agrees quite well with the latitude which I found in estimating the points of compass we had run over, agreeably to the usage of sailors, who are never without knowledge of their position, although destitute of an instrument with which to take an observation.

We had no sooner arrived in this place than we were visited by a number of Indians, who came to make us small presents of Indian corn, pumpkins, blackberries and whortleberries, fruits of which they had an abundance. We made presents in return, of knives, awls, needles, glass beads and other articles which they prize, and with which we were well provided.

Our guides urged us to remain in this place until the next day, as the chiefs would not fail to come in the evening with provisions to escort us to the village.

In fact night had no sooner come, than a large troop of Indians, with a number of women loaded with provisions, arrived and encamped near by, and made for us bread of Indian corn and fruits.* They did not desire to speak to us in regular council, but told us we were expected in the village, to every cabin of which word had been sent, to gather all the old men at a council which would be held for the purpose of ascertaining the object of our visit.

M. Dollier, M. de La Salle and myself, consulted to-

* The Indians dry fruit in the sun and put it in their bread, cooking it in the ashes. Sagard voyage, p. 327.

gether, in order to determine in what manner we should act, what we should offer for presents, and how we should give them. It was agreed that I should go to the village with M. de La Salle, for the purpose of obtaining a captive taken from the nation which we desired to visit, who could conduct us thither, and that we should take with us eight of our Frenchmen, the rest to remain with M. Dollier in charge of the canoes. This plan was carried out, and the next day, August 12th, had no sooner dawned, than we were notified by the Indians that it was time to set out. We started with ten Frenchmen and forty or fifty Indians, who compelled us to rest every league, fearing we would be too much fatigued.

About half way we found another company of Indians who had come to meet us. They made us presents of provisions and accompanied us to the village.

When we were within about a league of the latter, the halts were more frequent, and our company increased more and more, until we finally came in sight of the great village, which is in a large plain, about two leagues in circumference. In order to reach it we had to ascend a small hill,* on the edge of which the village is situated.

As soon as we had mounted the hill, we saw a large company of old men seated on the grass, waiting for us. They had left a convenient place in front, in which they invited us to sit down.

This we did, and at the same time an old man, nearly blind, and so infirm that he could hardly support himself, arose, and in a very animated tone, delivered a speech, in which he declared his joy at our arrival, that

* Now Boughton Hill.

we must consider the Senecas as our brothers, that they would regard us as theirs, and in that relation they invited us to enter their village, where they had prepared a cabin for us until we were ready to disclose our purpose. We thanked them for their civilities, and told them through our interpreter, that we would, on the next day, declare to them the object of our expedition. This done, an Indian, who officiated as master of ceremonies, came to conduct us to our lodgings.

We followed him, and he led us to the largest cabin of the village, which they had prepared for our residence, giving orders to the women belonging to it not to let us want for anything. In truth they were at all times very faithful during our sojourn, in preparing our food and in bringing the wood necessary to afford us light at night.

This village, like all those of the Indians, is nothing but a collection of cabins, surrounded with palisades twelve or thirteen feet high, bound together at the top, and supported at the base, behind the palisades, by large masses of wood of the height of a man. The curtains are not otherwise flanked, but form a simple enclosure, perfectly square, so that these forts are not any protection. Besides this, the precaution is seldom taken to place them on the bank of a stream, or near a spring, but on some hill, where, ordinarily, they are quite distant from water.

On the evening of the 12th we saw all the chiefs of the other villages arrive, so as to be in readiness for the council which was to be held the next day.

The Seneca Nation is the most populous of all the Iroquois. It comprises four villages, of which two em-

brace about 100 cabins each, and the other two about 30 each, containing in all perhaps 1,000 or 1,200 men, capable of bearing arms. The two larger are about six or seven leagues apart, and each six or seven leagues from the shore of the lake.* The land between the lake and the easternmost of the larger villages to which I went, consists for the most part of fine large meadows, in which the grass is as tall as myself, and in places where there are woods, the oaks predominate. They are so scattered that one can easily ride among them on horseback. We were told that this open country extends towards the east more than one hundred leagues, and towards the west and south to an unknown distance, especially towards the south, where prairies are found without a tree for upwards of one hundred leagues. The Indians who have visited those localities say they produce very good fruit and Indian corn extremely fine.

At length, the 13th of August having arrived, the Indians assembled in our cabin, to the number of fifty or sixty of the principal men of the Nation. Their custom on entering is to appropriate the most convenient places which they find vacant, without reference to rank, and immediately to take some fire to light their pipes,† which never leave their mouths during the entire sitting of the council. They say that good thoughts are produced by smoking.

When the assembly had become sufficiently numerous, we began to speak of business, and it was then M. de

* See page 10, note †

† The Indians, while attending a council, always light their pipes at the fire which is kept burning while the session lasts.

La Salle confessed he was unable to make himself understood. On the other hand my interpreter said that he did not know enough of French to convey his meaning to us. So we deemed it more advisable to employ the servant of Father Fremin to speak in our behalf and to interpret what the Indians should reply, and it was so done.

It must be stated that Father Fremin was not then at his post, but had gone a few days previous to Onondaga, to attend a meeting which was to be held there of all the Jesuits scattered among the Five Nations. There was therefore no one but the servant of Father Fremin, who could serve as our interpreter.*

Our first present was a pistol with two barrels, worth sixty francs, and the message with which we accompanied the present, was, that we regarded them as our brothers, and as such were so strong in their interest, that we made them a present of said pistol with two barrels, so that with one shot they could destroy the Wolf Nation, (Loups) and with the other the Andostoues, being two nations against which they wage a cruel war.†

The second present, of six kettles, six hatchets, four dozen knives and five or six pounds of large glass beads, declared to them that we had come on the part of Onontio,‡ (it is thus they call the Governor,) to establish peace.

* See page 13.

† The Loups or Wolf Nation were the Mohegans. The Andastes were almost exterminated by the Iroquois in 1672. The survivors were adopted, chiefly by the Senecas. Relation 1667, Quebec Edition p. 28. II Charlevoix page 244.

‡ The signification of *Onontio* is *great mountain*, being a translation into Iroquois of the name of the second Governor of Canada, the Chevalier *Montmagny*. The Indians always applied the same name to his successors in office. Jesuit Relation 1640-1, p. 77.

The third and last present, of two coats, four kettles, six hatchets and some glass beads, declared that we had come on the part of Onontio, to see the people called by them "Toagenha,"* living on the river Ohio, and that we asked from them a captive of that country, to conduct us thither. They considered it was necessary to think over our proposition, so they waited until the next day, before giving their answer. These people have a custom never to speak of any business without making some present to serve as a reminder of the words which they utter.

Early the next morning, they all came back, and the most distinguished chief among them presented a belt of wampum, to assure us that we were welcome among our brothers. The second present was another belt of wampum, to assure us they were firmly resolved to maintain peace with the French, and that their nation had never made war upon the French, and did not desire to begin it in a time of peace. For the third present, they said they would give us a captive as we had requested, but they desired to wait until the young men had returned from trading with the Dutch, to whom they had carried all their captives, and then they would not fail to give us one. We asked them not to detain us more than eight days, because of the advancing season. This they promised, and each one withdrew to his own cabin.

In the meantime they entertained us as well as they could, and rivaled each other in feasting us according to

*The name *Otoagenha* signifies, "a people speaking a corrupt Algonquin." The nation is described as living in a warm and fertile country, on a river, which either empties into the Gulf of Mexico or the Vermillion Sea. Relation 1661-2, p. 9. This must refer to the Ohio, not then discovered by the French.

the custom of the country. But I assure you I was many times more desirous of rendering up what I had in my stomach, than of taking into it any thing new. The principal food in this village, where they rarely have fresh meat, is the dog, the hair of which they singe over coals. After having thoroughly scraped the carcass, they cut it in pieces and place it in a kettle. When cooked, they serve you with a piece weighing three or four pounds, in a wooden dish, which has never been cleaned with any other dishcloth than the fingers of the mistress of the house, which have left their impress in the grease that always covers their vessels to the thickness of a silver crown.

Another of their favorite dishes is Indian meal, cooked in water, and served in a wooden bowl, with a small portion of tournesol, nut or bear's oil.*

There was not a child in the village but was eager to bring us, sometimes stalks of Indian corn and oftentimes pumpkins, besides other small fruits which they gather in the woods.

We thus consumed the time, for eight or ten days, waiting until the party should return from their trading, to give us a captive.

It was during this interval that, in order to pass away the time, I went with M. de La Salle, under the escort of two Indians, about four leagues south of the village where we were staying, to see a very extraordinary spring. Issuing from a moderately high rock, it forms a small brook. The water is very clear but has a bad odor,

* The Jesuit Le Mercier says in the Relation for 1657, p. 33, Quebec Edition, that the Indians extract oil from the Tournesol, by means of ashes, the mill, fire and water. The Tournesol referred to is probably the common sun-flower, which is indigenous to the warmer parts of North America.

like that of the mineral marshes of Paris, when the mud on the bottom is stirred with the foot. I applied a torch and the water immediately took fire and burned like brandy, and was not extinguished until it rained. This flame is among the Indians a sign of abundance or sterility according as it exhibits the contrary qualities. There is no appearance of sulphur, saltpetre or any other combustible material. The water has not even any taste, and I can neither offer nor imagine any better explanation, than that it acquires this combustible property by passing over some aluminous land.*

It was during this interval that they brought some

*The Spring above described was undoubtedly what is known in this region as a "burning spring," many of which abound in Western New York.

Being desirous of ascertaining if one still existed in the direction and at the distance from the Seneca village indicated in the narrative, I found, on consulting a map of Ontario County, that a village named "Bristol Centre," was at the exact point. On addressing a note of inquiry to a gentlemen residing there, he answered as follows:

There are in this Town burning springs, in a direct line south of Boughton Hill, located in the south side of a small brook which empties through a ravine into the west side of Mud Creek. The springs are on a level with the bed of the brook. The banks opposite the springs are from 18 to 20 feet high, perpendicular and rocky. The gas emits a peculiar odor. By applying a match the water appears to burn, and is not easily extinguished, except by a high wind or heavy rain."

It will be noticed that the two descriptions, written nearly 200 years apart, correspond in a striking manner. The same phenomena, that excited the wonder of La Salle and his companions, are still in operation, living witnesses of the truth of the Sulpician's narrative.

In the instructions given by the Earl of Bellomont to Col. Romer, to visit the Seneca Country in September, 1700, he directs him "to go and view a well or spring which is eight miles beyond the Senecas furthest castle, which they have told me blazes up in a flame when a light coal or firebrand is put into it. You will do well to taste the said water and give me your opinion thereof, and bring with you some of it." N. Y. Col. Doc., Vol. IV, p. 750.

brandy from the Dutch to the village, on which many savages became drunk.*

Many times the relations of the person who had been killed at Montreal a few days before we left there, threatened, in their intoxication, to break our heads or dispatch us with their knives, so as to be able to say afterwards, that they committed the base act, when not in their senses. They are not in the habit of mourning for those who are killed in this manner, for fear of giving uneasiness to the living, by reminding him of his offence. In the mean time we kept so well on our guard, that we escaped all injury.

During this interval I saw the saddest spectacle I had ever witnessed. I was informed one evening, that some warriors had arrived with a prisoner, and had placed him in a cabin near our own. I went to see him, and found him seated with three women, who vied with each other in bewailing the death of a relative who had been killed in the skirmish in which the prisoner had been captured.

He was a young man 18 or 20 years old, very well formed, whom they had clothed from head to foot since his arrival. They had inflicted no injury upon him since his capture. They had not even saluted him with blows, as is their custom with prisoners on their entering a village. I thought, therefore, that I would have an opportunity to demand him for our guide, as they said he was

* Father Bruyas, then located at Oneida, in writing under date of August 16th, 1669, from that village, as narrated in the cotemporary Jesuit Relation, says: "The Indians have returned this day from their traffic *with sixty barrels of Brandy*, brought from New Holland." (Albany.) Jesuit Relation 1670, p. 45; Canadian Edition.

Thus the two Fathers, Bruyas and Galmée, of two rival religious orders, and by independent testimony, that of one having never before been published, verify the truth of each others statements. See Relation 1670-1, p. 79.

one of the Tongenhas.* I then went to find M. de La Salle for that purpose, who told me that the Senceas were men of their word, that since they had promised us a captive, they would give us one, that it mattered little whether it was this one or another, and it was useless to press them. I therefore gave myself no further trouble about it. Night came on and we retired.

The next day had no sooner dawned, than a large company entered our cabin, to tell us that the captive was about to be burned, and that he had asked to see the "*mistigouch*."† I ran to the public place to see him, and found he was already on the scaffold, where they had bound him hand and foot to a stake.

I was surprised to hear him utter some Algonquin words which I knew, although, from the manner in which he pronounced them, they were hardly recognizable. He made me comprehend at last, that he desired his execution should be postponed until the next day. If he had spoken good Algonquin, I would have understood him, but his language differed from the Algonquin still more than that of the Ottawas, so I understood but very little. I conversed with the Iroquois through our Dutch interpreter, who told me that the captive had been given to an old woman, in place of her son who had been killed, that she could not bear to see him live, that all the family took such a deep interest in his suffering, that they would not postpone his torture. The irons were already in the fire to torment the poor wretch.

* The Tongenhas were probably identical with the Shawnees who lived on the Ohio, adjacent to the Miami and Scioto rivers.

† The Algonquin name for Frenchman. III Pouchot, p. 364. The meaning of the name is "builders of wooden canoes," alluding to the ships in which the French first appeared to the Indians. Relation 1633, p. 42. Sagard voyage, p. 97.

On my part, I told our interpreter to demand him in place of the captive they had promised, and I would make a present to the old woman to whom he belonged, but he was not at any time willing to make the proposition, alleging that such was not their custom, and the affair was of too serious a nature.

I even used threats to induce him to say what I desired, but in vain, for he was obstinate as a Dutchman, and ran away to avoid me.

I then remained alone near the poor sufferer, who saw before him the instruments of his torture. I endeavored to make him understand that he could have no recourse but to God, and that he should pray to him thus:

"Thou who hast made all things, have pity on me. I am sorry not to have obeyed Thee, but if I should live, I will obey Thee in all things."

He understood me better than I expected, because all the people who are neighbors to the Outaouacs, understand Algonquin. I did not consider that I ought to baptise him, not only because I could not understand him well enough to know his state of mind, but for the reason that the Iroquois urged me to leave him, that they might begin their tragedy.

Besides, I believed that the act of contrition which I had caused him to exhibit, would save him. Had I foreseen this event, on the preceding evening, I would certainly have baptised him, for I would have had, during the night, time to instruct him. So I could do nothing but exhort him to endure patiently, and to carry up his sufferings to God, in saying to him often, "Thou who hast made all things, have pity on me." This he repeated with his eyes raised toward heaven. In the meantime I

saw the principal relative of the deceased, approach him with a gun barrel, half of which was heated red hot. This obliged me to withdraw. Some began to disapprove of my encouraging him, inasmuch as it is a bad sign among them for a prisoner to endure the torture patiently. I retired therefore with sorrow, and had scarcely turned away, when the barbarous Iroquois applied the red hot gun-barrel to the top of his feet, which caused the poor wretch to utter a loud cry. This turned me about, and I saw the Iroquois, with a grave and sober countenance, apply the iron slowly along his feet and legs, and some old men who were smoking around the scaffold, and all the young people, leaped with joy, to witness the contortions which the severity of the heat caused in the poor sufferer.

While these events were transpiring, I retired to the cabin where we lodged, full of sorrow at being unable to save the poor captive, and it was then that I realized, more than ever, the importance of not venturing too far among the people of this country, without knowing their language, or being certain of obtaining an interpreter. I can affirm, that the lack of an interpreter under our own control, prevented the entire success of our expedition.

As I was in our cabin, praying to God, and very sad, M. de La Salle came and told me he was apprehensive that, in the excitement he saw prevailing in the village, they would insult us—that many would become intoxicated that day, and he had finally resolved to return to the place where we had left the canoes, and the rest of our people. I told him I was ready to follow, for I had difficulty, while remaining with him there, in banishing

from my mind that sad spectacle. We told the seven or eight of our people who were there with us, to withdraw for the day to a small village half a league from the large one, where we were,* for fear of some insult, and M. de La Salle and myself went to find M. Dollier, six leagues from the village.

There were some of our people barbarous enough to be willing to witness, from beginning to end, the torture of the poor Toagenha, and who reported to us the next day, that his entire body had been burned with hot irons for the space of six hours, that there was not the least spot left that had not been roasted. After that they had required him to run six courses past the place where the Iroquois were waiting for him armed with burning clubs, with which they goaded and beat him to the ground when he attempted to join them. Many took kettles full of coals and hot ashes, with which they covered him, as soon as, by reason of fatigue and debility, he wished to take a moment's repose. At length, after two hours of this barbarous diversion, they knocked him down with a stone, and throwing themselves upon him, cut his body in pieces. One carried off his head, another an arm, a third some other member, which they put in the pot for the feast.

Many offered some to the Frenchmen, telling them there was nothing in the world better to eat, but no one desired to try the experiment.

In the evening all assembled in the public place, each with stick in hand, with which they began to beat the

* This was a small fortified village, a mile and a half west of Boughton Hill, and known as Fort Hill, among the early settlers. New York Hist. Coll., Vol. II, New Series, p. 160.

cabins on all sides, making a very loud noise, to chase away, they said, the soul of the deceased, which might be concealed in some corner to do them injury.

Sometime after this we returned to the village, to collect among the cabins the Indian corn necessary for our journey, and which was brought to us by the women of the place, each according to her means. It had to be carried on the back for the six long leagues that lay between the village and the place where we were encamped.

During our stay at that village, we inquired particularly about the road we must take in order to reach the Ohio river, and they all told us to go in search of it from Sonmontouan. That it required six days journey by land, of about twelve leagues each.*

This induced us to believe that we could not possibly reach it in that way, as we would hardly be able to carry, for so long a journey, our necessary provisions, much less our baggage. But they told us at the same time, that in going to find it by the way of Lake Erie, in canoes, we would have only a three days portage before arriving at that river, reaching it at a point much nearer the people we were seeking, than to go by Sonmontouan.

What embarrassed us however more than all else was, that which the Indians told our Dutch interpreter. They said he was devoid of sense to be willing to go to the Toaguenha, who were very bad people, who would search for our camp-fires in the evening and then come in the night to kill us with their arrows, with which they would riddle us ere we had discovered them. Besides

*The route they proposed to take was probably up the Genesee river to one of its sources, crossing from thence to the head waters of the Allegany.

** The route they proposed to take was probably up the Genesee river to one of its sources, crossing from thence to the head waters of the Allegany. I have seen 12 leagues from Sonmontouan, but it is not known that the ordinary stage journey was about 26 miles.*

this, we would run great risk along the river Ohio, of meeting the Ontastois* who would surely break our heads. That for these reasons the Senecas were not willing to go with us for fear it would be thought they were the cause of the death of the French, that they had, with great reluctance decided to furnish a guide, fearing that Onontio would impute our death to them, and afterwards make war upon them out of revenge.

These discussions continued among them without our being able to understand their nature, but I was completely astonished to see the ardor of my Dutchman abate. He continued to insist that the Indians where we wished to go were of no account, and would surely kill us. When I told him there was nothing to fear if we stationed a good sentinel, he replied, that the sentinel, being near the fire, could not see those who would come at night, under cover of the trees and thickets. Finally it was apparent, from all these speeches, that he was alarmed, and in fact he did not discharge his duties as guide with as much zeal as before. In addition to all this, it was evident that the savages were bribed. Thus they trifled with us from day to day, saying that their people delayed returning from their trading expedition, longer than they had anticipated.

We suffered much from this detention, because we lost the most favorable season for travelling, and could not hope to winter with any nation if we delayed much longer,—a contingency which M. de La Salle regarded as certain death, because of the difficulty of obtaining provisions in the woods. Nevertheless we have, thank God, experienced the contrary.

* So spelled in the manuscript. It may refer to the *Andastes*.

We were relieved of all this difficulty, by the arrival from the Dutch, of an Indian who lodged in our cabin. He belonged to a village of one of the Five Iroquois nations, which is situated at the end of Lake Ontario, for the convenience of hunting the deer and the bear, which are abundant in that vicinity. This Indian assured us that we would have no trouble in finding a guide, that a number of captives of the nations we desired to visit were there, and he would very cheerfully conduct us thither.

We thought it would be well to take this course, not only because we would be on our way, approaching the place whither we desired to go, but as the village had only 18 or 20 cabins, we flattered ourselves we could easily become its masters, and exact through fear, what would not be willingly accorded to us through friendship.

It was under the influence of these hopes that we left the Sommontouans. We found a river, one-eighth of a league broad and extremely rapid, forming the outlet or communication from Lake Erie to Lake Ontario. The depth of the river (for it is properly the St. Lawrence), is, at this place extraordinary, for, on sounding close by the shore, we found 15 or 16 fathoms of water. This outlet is 40 leagues long, and has, from ten to twelve leagues above its embouchure into Lake Ontario, one of the finest cataracts, or falls of water in the world, for all the Indians of whom I have inquired about it, say, that the river falls at that place from a rock higher than the tallest pines, that is about 200 feet. In fact we heard it from the place where we were, although from 10 to 12 leagues distant, but the fall gives such a momentum to

the water, that its velocity prevented our ascending the current by rowing, except with great difficulty. At a quarter of a league from the outlet where we were, it grows narrower, and its channel is confined between two very high, steep, rocky banks, inducing the belief that the navigation would be very difficult quite up to the Cataract. As to the river above the Falls, the current very often sucks into this gulf, from a great distance, deer and stags, elk and roebucks, that suffer themselves to be drawn from such a point in crossing the river, that they are compelled to descend the Falls, and to be overwhelmed in its frightful abyss.*

Our desire to reach the little village called Ganastogue Sonontoua *O-tin-a-oua-ta-oua*, prevented our going to view that wonder, which I consider as so much the greater in proportion as the river St. Lawrence is one of the largest in the world. I will leave you to judge if that is not a fine cataract in which all the water of that large river, —having its mouth three leagues broad,†—falls from a height of 200 feet, with a noise that is heard not only at the place where we were, 10 or 12 leagues distant, but also from the other side of Lake Ontario, opposite its mouth, where M. Trouve told me he had heard it.

* Galinée's description of the Falls is probably the earliest on record. His account, which is wholly derived from the Indians, is remarkably correct. If they had been visited by the Jesuits prior to the time of this expedition, they have failed to relate the fact or to describe them in their Journals. The Niagara River is alluded to under the name of *Onguiaahra*, as the celebrated river of the Neutral nation, by Father L'Allemant in the Jesuit Relation for 1640-1, p. 65, published in 1642, but he makes no mention of the Cataract. Its first appearance is on Champlain's map of 1632. Afterwards on Sanson's map of Canada, published in Paris in 1657. It was mentioned by the Indians to Cartier, when he ascended the St. Lawrence in 1535. Lescarbot, p. 381, edition of 1609.

† At the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

We passed the river, and finally, at the end of five days travel arrived at the extremity of Lake Ontario, where there is a fine large sandy bay, at the end of which is an outlet of another small lake which is there discharged.* Into this our guide conducted us about half a league, to a point nearest the village, but distant from it some 5 or 6 leagues, and where we unloaded our canoes.

We waited here until the chiefs of the village came to meet us with some men to carry our effects. M. de La Salle was seized, while hunting, with a severe fever, which in a few days reduced him very low.

Some said it was caused by the sight of three large rattlesnakes which he had encountered on his way while ascending a rocky eminence.† At any rate it is certain that it is a very ugly spectacle, for those animals are not timid like other serpents, but firmly wait for a person, quickly assuming a defensive attitude, and coiling half the body, from the tail to the middle, as if it were a large cord, keeping the remainder entirely straight, and darting forward, sometimes three or four paces, all the time making a loud noise with the rattle which it carries at the end of its tail. There are many in this place as large as the arm, six or seven feet long and entirely black. It vibrates its rattle very rapidly, making a sound like a quantity of melon or gourd seeds shaken in a box.

At length, after waiting three days, the chiefs and almost every one in the village came to meet us. We held a council in our cabin, where my Dutelman succeeded better than had been done in the great village.

* Burlington Bay.

† Probably the Mountain ridge.

We gave two presents to obtain two captives, and a third for carrying our effects to the village. The savages made us two presents. The first of 14 or 15 dressed deerskins, to assure us they were going to conduct us to their village, but as they were only a handful of people, incapable of resistance, they begged us not to harm them, nor burn them, as the French had the Mohawks. We assured them of our good will. They made us still another present of about 5,000 shell beads, and afterwards two captives for guides. One of them belonged to the Chouanons* nation, and the other to the Nez Percez. I have since thought that the latter was from a nation near the Pontouatamites.† They were both excellent hunters, and seemed to be well disposed.

The Chouanon fell to M. de La Salle, and the other to us. They also told us they would aid the next day in carrying our effects to the village, so that we might go from thence to the banks of a river, on which we could embark for Lake Erie.

I have thus far followed the narrative of Galinee, in a literal translation from the French manuscript. Before closing, I will give a brief sketch of the subsequent events which attended the expedition.

On leaving Burlington Bay they ascended the Mountain ridge, which, crossing the Niagara at Lewiston, sweeps round the western end of Lake Ontario. This must have been near and north of the present site of Hamilton. Aided by the Algonquins, who carried their effects, they proceeded to the village of *Otinaouataoua*,

* Shawnees. They were nearly exterminated by the Iroquois three years after. II. Charlevoix, p. 244.

† Pottawatamies.

situated between the head of the Bay and the Grand River, reaching the former on the 22d day of September. The Indians urged them strongly to stay at that point for missionary work, but their desire for further discoveries impelled them forward.

Here it was they met Joliet,* returning from a fruitless expedition, on which he had been sent by M. de Courcelles, in search of the copper mines of Lake Superior, and who imparted valuable geographical information to Galinee for the construction of his chart, and for his course through the Lakes.

The missionaries, having separated from La Salle, left *Otinaouataoua* on the first of October with their retinue, accomplished the remainder of the portage to the Grand River, and descended its difficult and tortuous channel, now swollen with autumnal rains. In 14 days they reached its mouth and encamped on the northern shore of Lake Erie, which they describe as "a vast sea, tossed by tempestuous winds "

At the end of three days they built a cabin for their shelter, at or near the mouth of the river. Here they employed their time in hunting the game which abounded in the neighborhood, and in drying the flesh of two of the larger animals, which they had secured for subsistence on their journey. To these were added seventy bushels

*Joliet had left Montreal before the Sulpicians and La Salle, with four canoes and some merchandise for the Ottawas. Besides searching for copper mines, he had been instructed to find a more feasible route than the one then in use, for the transportation of the copper to Montreal. He was unsuccessful in his search for the mines, but having met with an Iroquois who had been taken prisoner by the Ottawas, the captive informed him of the shorter route by the way of the Grand River and Lake Ontario, and it was while testing its feasibility, that he met La Salle and the Sulpicians.

The copper mines were first made known by the Jesuits as early as 1659. Relation 1659-60, p. 44.

of nuts of various kinds, which they had gathered in the woods, and apples, plums, grapes and hackberries* in great quantity. The vine is described as growing spontaneously along the sandy border of the lake, producing grapes as large and palatable as the finest in the north of France. The expressed juice of the fruit served them all winter for the celebration of Holy Mass. Here they spent fifteen days, waiting in vain for the abatement of the violent winds which prevailed on the lake at that season. Winter being near at hand, it was deemed too hazardous to trust their frail bark gondolas on the treacherous lake, and they decided to encamp in the neighboring woods for the winter.

They selected a commodious spot about a mile farther inland, at the mouth of a small branch of the Grand River. Here they rebuilt their cabin, so as to afford them shelter from the weather, and protection against an enemy. In one end of the building they raised the first altar dedicated to Christian worship on the banks of Lake Erie.†

*The Hackberry is undoubtedly the *celtis occidentalis*, or Nettle tree, a native of New England and of the Southern States. There is a region in Canada, lying north of Lake Erie, which has a climate and soil favorable for the growth of more southern plants, and in which many of them abound. This would be congenial to the Nettle tree. Gray says it is of medium size, bears a sweet edible fruit as large as bird cherries, and ripens in autumn.

The Jesuits speak of apples shaped like a goose egg, with seeds as large as beans, brought from the country of the Eries, having a peculiar odor and delicate flavor. Relation 1657, p. 33. Quebec Edition.

†The Franciscan Father Daillon passed the winter of 1626-7 among the Neuter Nation, which resided on both sides of the Niagara and north of Lake Erie, and he may have celebrated mass on the shore of the lake. So also the Jesuits Brebeuf and Chaumonot, who visited the same nation in 1640, may have performed the same rite in that locality, but no record has been left of the fact.

The first mass celebrated in Canada was at Quebec, by the Franciscan D'Olbeau, on the 25th of June, 1615. I. Le Clercq, *établissement de la Foi*, p. 60.

Fortunately they found the winter much milder than they had experienced during their residence at Montreal.

Six months had nearly passed away before they were ready to proceed on their expedition.

On the 23d of March, 1670, they erected a cross, as a memorial of their winter home, to which they affixed the arms of Louis XIV., and took formal possession of the country in the name of that King. Three days thereafter they resumed their voyage toward the west, and arriving at the eastern side of Long Point, drew up their canoes on the beach, and encamped near the shore. Overcome with fatigue they were soon buried in sleep. Not anticipating any disaster, they carelessly left some of their effects quite near the water. A violent north-east gale arose in the night, disturbing the lake to such an extent, that the water rose to the height of six feet, and bore away the contents of one of their canoes. Fortunately they were aroused in season to secure the remainder. Their powder and lead were lost, and more than all, their holy chapel, without which the Eucharist could not be celebrated.

Discouraged by these misfortunes, they abandoned the further prosecution of the enterprise, and returned home by the circuitous route of the Sault de Ste Marie and Ottawa river, reaching Montreal on the 18th of the following June.

It now remains to notice briefly the further movements of La Salle. After reaching *Otinaouataoua*, he declined all further connection with the Sulpicians, under the pretext that the condition of his health would not warrant a winter encampment in the woods.

On the 30th day of September, the eve of their

separation, the whole party united in celebrating their last Mass together, and the next day the two missionaries, accompanied by Joliet, left for the west as before related. La Salle set his face eastward, ostensibly for Montreal, but really, as is supposed, with the intention of making further efforts to reach the Ohio and the Mississippi through the Iroquois country. Unfortunately the journals which he kept, and the charts which he drew, have, it is feared, been irrecoverably lost. The most diligent search among the papers of his family and elsewhere, have failed as yet to discover the slightest trace of the valuable documents.

If M. Margry's manuscripts, when published, do not settle all the questions that have arisen in regard to the discoveries of La Salle, they will at least shed new light and lustre upon the career, and fill some of the blanks which exist in the history of that remarkable and intrepid explorer.

They will give us fuller details of his first expedition to the Ohio, in which he is said to have visited the falls at Louisville, and from whence, being deserted by his companions, he returned alone to Montreal, after 1,200 miles of foot and canoe travel, subsisting on the game and herbs he found in the woods, or received from the friendly Indians he met on the way.

They may afford us satisfactory proof of his discovery of the Mississippi in 1671 and 1672, before it was visited by Marquette and Joliet, when, it is claimed, he descended the Illinois to its confluence with the Mississippi, and down the latter to the 36th degree of N. latitude.*

They will give us details of his visit to France in 1674,

* Margry in *Revue Maritime* for 1872, p. 555.

when he received a Patent of Nobility; of his return to Canada the following year; of his contentions with the Jesuits; and of his voyage to France in 1678, when he received new supplies for his American enterprises, and a Royal Grant from the king.

They will give us a more satisfactory account of his expedition to the west in 1678-9, in which he built a bark on Lake Ontario, and the Griffin on the Niagara; of his voyage in the latter to Green Bay; his coasting by canoe along the western shore of Lake Michigan to the river St. Joseph; his portage from the latter to the sources of the Illinois, and descent to the foot of Lake Peoria, and of his long and wearisome return by way of the river St. Joseph, and across the Michigan peninsula to the Huron river. How he descended the latter in an elm bark canoe of his own construction, to the Detroit river, crossing which he found his way by land to Point Pelee, from whence, in another canoe, he coasted along Lake Erie and the Niagara as far as the dock on which he had built the Griffin, and where he first heard tidings of its loss, and of the wreck of another ship in the mouth of the St. Lawrence, freighted with goods destined for his use. How, weary and foot-sore, bronzed by sun and weather, but not disheartened, he reached Montreal after 65 days and 1000 miles of incessant travel by land, lake, and river. How several of his canoes, richly laden with furs, were lost in the rapids of the St. Lawrence, just in sight of their destination. How the news soon followed of the destruction of his forts at St. Joseph and Creve-cœur, and the desertion of his men. How his creditors received the intelligence of his disasters and seized his effects.

They will give us the details of his expedition in 1680, in which he penetrated the west by the way of Lake Ontario, leaving which a little west of Toronto, he ascended the River Humber, and passing through Lakes Simcoe, Huron and Michigan, reached his deserted forts in the Illinois country, where he passed the winter, and returned to Fort Frontenac in the spring of 1681.

We shall undoubtedly have full accounts of the expedition which he made in the following summer, when he accomplished his famous descent of the Mississippi to its mouth, the first on record, and took possession of the country in the name of the King, after whom he called it "Louisiana."

How he returned to Quebec in 1683 and left for France in 1684, where he defeated the machinations of his enemies at the Court of Louis XIV., and, under his patronage, organized an expedition of four ships, in which he sailed for the mouth of the Mississippi, reaching Matagordas Bay in February, 1685.

How, overwhelmed by the loss of those ships, and the treachery of their captain, but, with a courage and self-reliance superior to every adversity, and an energy and resolution that never faltered, he set out in January, 1687, with twenty companions, on a long, perilous journey to Lake Michigan in search of succor for the little colony he had left on the shores of the Mexican Gulf,—a mission he was not permitted to accomplish.

De Soto, after traversing with his mailed warriors our southern country, from Florida to the Mississippi, found his grave in the bed of the mighty river he had discovered. Marquette, the next in the order of explorers, was overtaken by death while returning homeward through

Lake Michigan, and buried where he died, on the eastern shore of that Lake, at the mouth of the river which perpetuates his name.

La Salle, less fortunate in being denied a natural death, also closed his career in the land he was engaged in exploring. Arrested on his errand of mercy by the hand of an assassin, he fell by treachery in 1687, on a branch of the Trinity river in Texas, where his unburied remains were left a prey to the savage beasts of the wilderness.

The American people, who entered upon and developed the inheritance he left as the fruit of his bold and sagacious enterprises, have built no monument to his memory. Here and there an insignificant locality bears his name, and one of the four historical panels in the rotunda of the Capitol at Washington is occupied by his portrait, in proximity to those of Columbus, Raleigh and Cabot.

An authentic and detailed account of his discoveries and explorations, illustrated with maps and portraits, compiled from original sources under the supervision of one who has devoted a life-time to the subject, and published to the world under the auspices of the American Congress, will constitute a memorial more enduring and appropriate than the most imposing structure of bronze or marble.



APPENDIX.

THE ORIGIN OF THE NAME SENECA.

How this name originated, is a *verata questio* among Indo-antiquarians and etymologists. The least plausible supposition is, that the name has any reference to the moralist SENECA.

Some have supposed it to be a corruption of the Dutch term for Vermillion, *cinebar* or *cinabar*, under the assumption that the Senecas, being the most warlike of the Five Nations, used that pigment more than the others, and thus gave origin to the name.*

This hypothesis is supported by no authority. The use of war paint, common to every Indian nation, was not so exclusively practiced by the Senecas, as to be likely to give origin to their national name. Besides, Vermillion is the red sulphuret of mercury, and was hardly procureable by the Indians in 1616, when the name was first used. They undoubtedly made use of some vegetable dye at that early day.

The name "*Senneecas*" first appears on a Dutch Map of 1616, and again on Jean de Laets' map of 1633. Inasmuch as it comes to us through a Dutch medium, it is claimed by some that it is derived from the Algonquins, with whom the Dutch had their first intercourse. The map of 1616 above referred to, was compiled from the report of one Kleynties, based on a previous exploration of the Iroquois country. On this map it is written "*Senneecas*." A copy may be found in the first volume of the N. Y. Col. Doc. p. 10. The tribe is placed on the map in the territory of the Iroquois, and apparently near Oneida Lake, but in a note inscribed on the map, the author says, "the *Senneecas* ought to be placed farther west into the country."

The question arises from whom did Kleynties obtain the name? The MS. note above mentioned, says that he and his companion went on an expedition *from the Mohawk country into the interior*. They must have had a Mohawk, rather than an Algonquin guide, as the latter nation was always at enmity with the Iroquois. This renders it possible that the name *Seneca* was obtained through the lips of the Mohawk, and that in writing it "*Senneecas*," Kleynties attempted to give the name as it sounded to his ears when spoken by the Mohawk.

It is claimed by some that the word may be derived from "*Sinnickor*," the Algonquin name of a tribe of Indians spoken of in Wassenaer's History of Europe, on the authority of Pieter Barentz, who traded with them about the year 1626. Their residence is not stated, and it is by no means certain that

* Cornplanter Memorial, p. 24.

they are identical with the Senecas. Doc. Hist. N. Y. Vol. 3. p. 29. As the Senecas are located by De Laets' map on the south side of Oneida Lake, Mr. Trumbull thinks that the name was bestowed by the Algonquins on the Oneidas, from the fact that *assene*, in Algonquin, signifies 'a stone,' and *ga* or *ke*, "place of," being an Algonquin translation of the Iroquois name of Oneida, into *Assinawke*, or "place of the Stone." He thinks that when the geographical divisions of the Iroquois became better known, the Senecas were assigned their true position further west, still retaining, in the nomenclature of the geographers, the name which belonged to the Oneidas. The opinion of so eminent an authority as Mr. Trumbull is certainly worthy of consideration. It would however be a more natural and satisfactory solution of the question, if their national name could be derived from the Senecas themselves. Without assuming to solve the mystery, the writer will content himself with giving some data which may possibly aid others in arriving at a reliable conclusion.

The French, in their pioneer explorations of Canada, derived their knowledge of the Senecas through the Franciscan and Jesuit Missionaries. Those holy Fathers first heard of them through the Hurons, among whom they established at a very early day the missions of their respective Orders. The Hurons called them *Sonontouehronons*, that is, "people of *Sonnontouan*," the termination *ronons* or *ronons* signifying "people." *

Their name first occurs in the Jesuit Relation for 1635, and is there written by Brebeuf, *Sonontouehronons*. Relation 1635, p. 33.

Le Mercier spells it *Sonontouanhronon*. Relations 1637, p. 111.

Le Jeune mentions the *Sonontouehronons*. Relation 1640, p. 35.

They are subsequently called *Tsonnontouans*. Relation 1670, page 69, and *Tshonnontouans*. Le Clercq Etablissement de la Foi Vol. II. p. 187.

The Hurons and Senecas spoke a kindred language, and the word *Sonnontouan* is the same in both dialects. It signifies "great hill," and in the Seneca is compounded of *onondah*, hill, and *ga waah*, great. The Senecas, in forming a compound word, usually drop all which follow the initial consonant of the last syllable of the noun, and the initial consonant of the adjective, and then suffix the latter to the former. Thus the compound of the above becomes *Onondowaah*, or great hill, written *Sonnontouan* by the Jesuits.† The letter S when prefixed conveys the idea of *possession*, and in some cases Ts, is substituted to represent a hisping sound of the S, which was formerly quite common among the Senecas, and is still occasionally heard.

To this word, *Onondowaah* or great hill, the suffix *guh* was added, to denote the Seneca people. By dropping the neuter prefix O, the national title became *Nan-do-wah-guh* or "The Great Hill people," as now used by the Senecas.

Sometimes the suffix *o-noh* is substituted for *guh*, which would make *Nan-do-wa-o-noh*, having however the same meaning. Morgan's League, p. 51.

* Relations 1635, p. 33 and 1654, p. 18. See Relation for 1670, p. 69., where it is written *Tsonnontouan*.

† Alluding to their residence on Boughton Hill where their principal village was located. See p. 10.

The termination *ouah* signifying "inhabitants," is nearly identical with the *ronous* or *rhonous* of the Hurons, and has the same signification.

The Mohawks use the terminations *ronnon* and *haga*, which correspond with the similar words used by the Senecas. Bruyas' Dictionary, p. 18.

In the vocabulary of the Huron or Wyandot language, as given by Mr. Gallatin, Coll. Am. Ant. Society, Vol. II, pp. 334 and 348, the Huron word for hill is given as *onoutah*, and for great, *ouen*. If compounded, they would form *Onoutaouen* or great hill, which is only a dialectical variation from the Seneca *Nan-do-arah*, and embraces such a resemblance as we would expect from the common origin of the two nations.

In pronouncing the Indian names written by the Jesuits, the French vowel and nasal sounds must be regarded. The French, having no "æ," express its sound by the combination "ou." In writing Indian words the letters *d* and *t* are often used interchangeably.

If the name Seneca can legitimately be derived from the Seneca word *Nan-do-arah-gaah* as above given, it can only be done by prefixing *Son*, as was the custom of the Jesuits, and dropping all unnecessary letters. It would then form the word *Son-non-do-ara-ga*, the first two and last syllable of which, if the French sounds of the letters are given, are almost identical in pronunciation with *Seneca*. The chief difficulty, however, would be in the disposal of the two superfluous syllables. They may have been dropped in the process of contraction so common in the composition of Indian words—a result which would be quite likely to occur to a Seneca name, in its transmission through two other languages, the Mohawk and the Dutch.

The foregoing queries and suggestions are thrown out for what they are worth, in the absence of any more reliable theory. It is to be hoped that a happy solution of the vexed question may yet be reached by some investigator having the necessary facilities and qualifications.







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